44-1944

BETWEEN THE LINES

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK

Daily World-Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro Ducicide!

5-28-44

THE PRESENT AGE is noted for finding new names for old phenomena. The old-fashioned undertaker is now the mortician, the old-fashioned man-killer is now the homicide; the old time barber is today the tonsorial artist, the old time rogue is today's kleptomaniac while the old-fashioned liar is now a prevaricator. The man who in former years killed his mother was a mother killer today he is a matricide and if he kills his brother he is a fraticide, and so on ad infinitum.

After some recent disillusioning experiences in the realm of race relation, I am offering for the public's consideration another one of these "cides", the "ducicide" or leader killer. He is a definite species with well defined characteristics observable without the use of microcope or test tube. His type is generally malignant tending to become chronic in implications. As between him and the Negrophobe whites, it is difficult to decide which is more deadly in their virus of moral poison with which they inoculate society. It is easier to understand the white Negrophobe than this Negro ducicide. The white Negrophobe is getting done what he wants done, but the Negro ducicide is getting done what he claims he least wants done, and that is the Negro's social and economic damnation.

KILL OFF LEADERS

The Negro ducicides are always "declaring war" on some other Negro instead of declaring war on the white Negrophobe. They seek to kill off any Negro with whom they happen to disagree, even on minor issues. They would lead as a lamb to the slaughter any Negro who dares chart his own course of thought. They claim that they have the race's welfare at heart but when their verbage is reduced to its last analysis, we find nothing more than an ambition to be a great "leader" with a minimum of sacrifice. They find it easier to accede to popularity by trying to destroy somebody than by following somebody. When this ducicide is shorn of his pretensions, he is just a plain "Uncle Tom" who worships everything white and disdains everything black! He speaks glibly about Uncle Tomism in order to hide his own "Uncle Tommishness."

On the evening of May 5, the Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Colleges met at Virginia Union University. The opening session was featured by an able address by one Mrs. Myers, a white woman of Washington who is associated with her husband in the editing and publication of the Washington Post. She is a woman of considerable ability and prestige. Among the things she advocated was the local or regional approach to interracial adjustment, pointing out that down in Mississippi she found one of the most constructive approaches to the race question she had encountered anywhere. She further served notice on the Negro audience that the good things we are seeking "are not around the corner" and that the Negro who makes us feel that they are, is stirring hopes that have no satisfaction in sight.

HELD HIS BREATH

She further said that more progress in race relations is being made in the south than in the north; that is, southern whites are changing their attitudes towards Negroes in a constructive way faster than the northern whites. In the discussion period I held my breath looking for some of the Negroes to attack with considerable violence her thesis that the regional approach was correct. In order to get them started I pointedly asked if she really and truly meant to favor the regional approach. She replied in the affirmative. 5-28-44

I was shocked when not a single Negro lifted his voice against her thesis. There were in that audience Negroes who had covertly and overtly fought the Southern Regional council just because it makes the regional approach. These Negroes always clamor for a "solid front" and here was a woman advocating a regional approach and these hitherto militant Negroes took it lying down and sat with lips sealed like a steel trap. There sat Negroes who are the first to arrive at meetings where the Southern Regional council is liable to be attacked, and who get ring side seats to hear the kill. These Negroes just sat and took it from Mrs. Myers without a whimper. But she was white and what she said was law and gospel. Had a Negro said as much there would have been a riot. She emphasized that the interracial millenium was not around the corner. If a Negro had said that much there were sitting there Negroes who would have yelled themselves hoarse with "Down with grandualism!" At the close of the discussion period not a Negro had dared challenge Mrs. Meyers on her gradualism or her regional approach. 5-28-44

LEAVES DISGUSTED

I left the meeting with a heavy heart not a little moved with deep disgust for Negroes who claim that they are "fighters" and what have not the courage to stand up and defend their opinion merely because it is counter to that of some influential whites. These same Negroes will smear and tear a Negro for a certain stand on interracial matters and hail the whites who take the same stand. That is a little worse than Uncle Tomism, it is Niggerism in its crassest forms. That is the Negro ducicide. God help us!

ROGERS SAYS:

Courier-Pittsburgh, Pa. 1-22-44

Our Intellectual Leaders Are Enslaved Through Philanthropic Handouts

By J. A. ROGERS

WHAT I am going to say now, I felt like saying three weeks ago. In fact I started to say it then, but on second thought it sounded like sermonizing which I hate to think myself guilty of. But I still can't get it out of my mind, so it seems the only thing is to say it. With the reader duly warned, I'll say I was thinking of New Year's resolutions, both as regards myself and the Negro group at large. Eighteenthat while money is a necessity, years ago I made one resolutionindependence of mind is real luxand renewed it each year until it is now a sort of habit. This was that I was going "to be captain of my soul," that while I would keep an open mind, I would let no one do any thinking for me, but would question any and everything, and having, as St. Paul said, proved all things, would hold fast to that which is good. To do that I found I had to be a self-starter. I couldn't be a beggar and a chooser at the same time.

Mr. Rogers

LEARNED LESSON

No resolution has brought me greater satisfaction. Independence of mind is a joy second to none—independence to say what you really feel even though you later discover that you were sometimes wrong.

YEARS ago when I had a burning ambition to go to Europe to dig up what I could on the Negro in world history, I asked several rich white men and rich Negroes for aid. They all turned me down. A friend who tried to get a scholarship for me had no better luck. Today I am as glad I did not get those hand-outs, as I would have been glad to have got them then because the refusals taught me to do for myself. I got out a book, traveled over the country selling it and not only made enough to do what I wanted, but met a lot of fine people and came in contact with real life. Above all, I felt free.

INDEPENDENCE OF MIND A REAL LUXURY

ury—luxury within the reach of all. 1-22-44

Only a few days ago I heard an ambitious young man moaning as I used to do about lack of money and I said to myself, "Ah, my friend, you do not know the half. As long as you keep moaning and do not use what tools you have to make a start, you'll be a pest not only to others, but to yourself."

THERE are two men in history whose independence of mind I've always envied. The first is Diogenes, who was very poor. When Alexander the Great, eager to help him, asked him what could he do for him, Diogenes replied, it being a cold day, "Alexander, all I ask is that you stand from between me and the sun." The other is Mahatma Gandhi, who, though he could be one of the richest men, is worth, loin cloth and all, not over $10. In 1931, when Gandhi was invited to England in the hope that he would call off his campaign of non-cooperation, he traveled fourth-class, which, to anyone who has seen it, is horrible. Yet had he only said the word, the finest yacht would have been placed at his disposal. A very poor man, he wanted to be independent and not accept favors.

OUR BRAINS ARE STILL ENSLAVED 1-22-44

I said that on New Year's Day I always think of the Negro group, too. On that day, 81 years ago, came the Emancipation Proclamation, which while it did not free the Negro, started a new era for him. Then came the 13th Amendment which struck the chains from his hands, leaving the next big task, striking them from his brain. But this, no congress or army could ever do, only the Negro, himself.

TODAY, I feel we have done little towards that task. For instance, take our leaders and scholars. We have, it is true, a few brave leaders, but nearly all of our scholars are in the grip of the white foundations and philanthropists, who use them, if not exactly to preserve the old injustices, to keep the Negro in his so-called place as well as to join with the white satellites of these foundations to discredit, belittle, and create mistrust of the few Negroes who dare to have a soul of their own. "Tell me whose bread you eat and I'll tell you whose songs you sing."

A CASE IN POINT

Our personalities, as a group, are still in chains. We shall not be free until we cease taking handouts from philanthropists to do those things that make for our highest advancement. A few weeks ago I mentioned a prize of $2,500 offered by a white firm for the best book on the Negro. Why couldn't we have done that ourselves? Our newspapers, societies and wealthy individuals, if they had the will, could easily have offered prizes of $50,000 for the three best books on the Negro. That would have left the minds of the competitors free to say what they really felt and knew and not have to hedge in order to pass the censorship of the white leaders and their Negro yesmen. I speak as I do because I know white persons who are for the Negro without reservation.

facture of war materials comes to an end.

Leaders Hogged Headlines

The Negro leadership that has hogged headlines with "pronouncements," and "viewpoints", and "forthright statements" for the last four years, hasn't persuaded Negroes who are and have been earning more money than ever before to invest in Negro-owned factories. It hasn't developed Negro interest to the point where a big chain store has been created to provide jobs for Negroes. It hasn't produced a big-time Negro-financed housing project with the resulting provision of work for hundreds of job-needy Negroes. It hasn't dreamed up the manufacturing concern that would produce work and at the same time

Plain Talk

Negro Home Front Leadership Must Answer To GI's Returning Home After War To Unemployment, Does

By DAN GARDNER

Amsterdam News 1-22-44

The thought persists that there are going to be a lot of disappointed Negro GI's returning to a post-war America in which home front Negro leadership has produced little if anything in the line of jobs in the postwar industry.

Men who have been in uniform in foxholes, on the battlefields and on the seven seas for the last four, dreary years, aren't going to feel good about it all when they come home to find that most of the retrieving contracts from war plants and

been consistently wspapers shipped onsumption, have d economic pro- t of the general s a bulwark for experts are sure overnment starts and the manu-

"big name" Negro leaders who have been in the headlines of the Negro newspapers overseas and elsewhere for soldier consumption, have gram for the Negro apart from that of

serve a widespread need. It hasn't done anything to develop an antipathy among the Negro masses to throwing away their hard-earned money for questionable pleasures. All it has produced, the Negro GI will complain, is confusion and lack.

The emphasis has been on civil rights. In that respect, the wordage expounded by home front Negro leaders has been of merit. In this connection, much has been achieved. Barriers have been broken down that formerly existed as a constant source of friction and irritation to both races, divided by color bars and socially conflicting viewpoints. It is true that home front Negro leadership will be able to offer to the returning Negro GI the unhampered right to eat in this restaurant, stop at that hotel, belong to this union, and to that organization. But it is not in a position to offer him employment. Instead, the idea is to place that responsibility—all of it—in the lap of the white man. And in placing it in the lap of the white man, the Negro war veteran is facing again the dreary spectacle of constant harangues over the failure of white America to give Negroes their "economic rights."

Future Looks Gloomy

At the two-day conference on "The Post War Industrial Outlook for Negroes" recently held at Howard University under the joint auspices of the Division of Social Science of the Howard University Graduate School and the A. Philip Randolph Fund, a "thread of gloom ran through the discussions" according to Negro White House correspondent for the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, Harry McAlpin. Said McAlpin: "Almost without exception, speaker after speaker pointed out the problems Negroes would face that would be almost insurmountable unless we have full employment. There was fairly general agreement that a permanent FEPC will be needed to help overcome these obstacles."

The conference took up the consideration of problems in the shipbuilding, aircraft, automobile, railroad and steel industries. Other talks were held on Federal policies prohibiting racial discrimination in industry and the labor and fiscal policies of the Federal government. Lieut. Col. John K. Collins, of the Bureau of Placement of the War Manpower Commission, gave the tipoff on the whole postwar situation, when he declared:

Worker in Temporary Status

"About 75 per cent of the working Negroes in war industries are in temporary emergency, mushroom industries such as shipbuilding, aircraft manufacture, munitions, etc. Two-thirds of these Negro workers have acquired skilled and semi-skilled ratings and pay. Yet, it is precisely this group which will, as contracts are concluded, and as cut-backs are made, be 'dumped' on a labor market in which it has been difficult for one-third of the working Negro population to secure other than unskilled and menial jobs."

Michael Ross, Washington representative of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (CIO) warned the conference that the shipbuilding industry in the postwar period will face a sharp contraction, bringing with it substantial reduction in payrolls. He thought that reductions among Negroes are going to be heavy due largely to "strict application of seniority rules and veterans' re-employment provisions." He declared: "The problem of the Negro here is part of the total problem of reconversion of shipbuilding workers . . . A large part of the hope for fairer treatment in the economic field resides in such a simple question as the obtaining of the right to vote."

The Office of War Information last May said that wartime employment of Negro shipyard workers, has increased more than 15-fold since 1940. In 1944 there were nearly 158,000 Negroes in the industry.

Wants More Migration

Dr. Herman Feldman of Dartmouth College wanted to see increased migration of Negroes from the South into areas of more liberal tradition; criticized the "ineptness" of management in failing to do its part in the introduction of new workers, and went on to say that trade unions and the constant education of the people would be the logical program to be carried out.

The Negro GI, nearly everyone agrees, should be the first among his race to enjoy immediate and full employment benefits without resort to dole or temporary relief. Some will return to jobs they had before they entered the service. Other thousands will return to an unemployed status unless something is done to provide for them. These men have undergone a profound change, both in habit and in ability. Army and Navy training has given them new skills; made many of them specialists in highly complicated crafts and trades. If a dishwasher before Pearl Harbor, the Negro GI who has learned to be an expert electrician or radio technician isn't going to be content with another dishwashing job upon his discharge from the armed forces. He has been told he was fighting for a better world in which to live. He will feel that the price he paid and that paid by his buddies has been more than enough to guarantee him economic security at home. He won't feel at all good about it when he starts evaluating the efforts put forth by those he has been told are his leaders and finds that much, if not most of such efforts, have been selfish, conflicting, and inadequate to service his needs.

Southern Negro Leaders

Citizen-Review Alabama-Tuscaloosa

Many times Southern Negro leaders are embarrassed by problems affecting their communities when they encounter Northern critics of the South and its traditions. We who live in the South know our condition and realize that there is so much to be done yet we do not side with our "friends" without. There are many instances of gross injustice and mistreatment that are often very hard for us to bear but know that there are many factors which must be considered before we reach a decision. After all, the bulk of the Negro population is in the South and when it is elevated to the level of that in other sections our national position will be improved. The Negro leaders who remain here with the mass of their people fighting their fight and suffering along with them deserve every consideration. They, like the European patriots who remained to fight the enemy from underground certainly have made the greatest contribution to the salvation of their home land. White Southern officials should see that local community and state Negro leaders who stay and help to raise the economic, educational and cultural status of their group should give them every consideration. It is these Negroes who eliminate racial friction and encourage more cooperation and better citizenship on the part of the Black Man. He contributes everything to the peace of the community by endeavoring to secure every possible opportunity for his folk but at the same time maintaining splendid relations with the other race.

'Leaders' Quiet During Election

Memphis World Tenn.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Monday morning quarterbacking on the election has brought into open discussion here the depressing silence maintained through the presidential election campaign by the men who are presumaby the leaders of the people—ministers and educators, particularly college presidents. The "hot stove league" is wondering what happened to the voices of Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University, Dr. Charles Wesley of Wilberforce, Dr. James A. Davis of West Virginia State, Dr. Luther Foster of Virginia State, Dr. D. O. W. Holmes of Morgan State, Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee, Dr. James E. Shepard of North Carolina State, Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta University, Dr. J. B. Brawley of Clark University, Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, Forrester Washington of the Atlanta School of Social Work, Dr. David D. Jones of Bennett, Albert W. Dent of Dilliard, etc.

Views are a "dime a dozen" as to whether this was good or bad for the candidates and the public.

Of the bishops, professed leaders of the people, only two were outspoken in the campaign. Bishop R. R. Wright came out for Roosevelt, while Bishop Simms supported Dewey. Dr. Jemison, head of the Baptists, permitted himself to be quoted in a Republican advertisement as favoring Dewey. But for the most part, the clergy maintained its silence.

44-1944

Chicago Negro Leaders Hail U.S. Stand in Phila.

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

By OTTO WANGERIN 8-9-44

CHICAGO, Aug. 8.—Chicago Negro leaders commended the government's action taking over public transportation services in Philadelphia to enforce the application of the FEPC order for upgrading Negro employees, this reporter's survey among them showed.

Among those who commented on the handling of the strikers were Bishop James A. Gray, Negro Methodist Episcopal Church:

"In my view the Philadelphia strike was a calamity. It is an indication of race antagonism that is dangerous to the American situation and portends toward a serious condition after the war that will have to be met. This flare-up against Negroes is the same thing we saw in Germany against the Jews. It is just about as dangerous.

Ismael P. Flory, international representative, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union:

"The speedy action of the President and the government should be hailed by all Negroes and democratic Americans. The action can well be looked at as a view of the future when our government, coming closer and closer to the fullest democratic people's government may well move in in other areas to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people, who are the most oppressed section of the American people."

Oscar Brown, president, NAACP:

"It is my understanding that the union never wanted to strike. Negro employees should be upgraded if they merit it. That is a sound position for the country to take. Any violation of the law in connection with the strike should be prosecuted."

William P. Harison, businessman and chairman of the Negro People's Assembly:

"The strike in Philadelphia was just a feeling that Negroes are not to be given a full and fair opportunity to work for a living. The position of the government was right and correct."

Philip Weightman, international vice president, United Packinghouse Workers of America:

"This was a reactionary strike. The National Transport Workers' Union and the government took a good stand for equality of the Negro people."

Knoxville Daily Lauds Work Of Negro Leaders

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

Praised For Work During Strike Of Transit Workers

8-22-44

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—(A N P)—In an editorial entitled "Negro Leadership Proves Itself," Leyo W. Miller, liberal editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, paid high tribute to Negro leadership this week and suggested Negro-white cooperation to prevent racial clashes in areas of high tension. After recounting what Negro leaders did in the Philadelphia strike, the editorial, in part, reads:

"There is little doubt that their (Negro leaders) efforts helped largely in limiting the scope of the disturbances.

"This is something to be noted in other cities where racial tensions exist. No perfect solution of 'the Negro problem' is visible. To deny that prejudice and unfairness exist would be fatuous. To say that these can be conquered overnight would be equally so. But the sober counsel of fair-minded men, both white and Negro can at least help to keep within bounds the occasional outbreaks among foolish members of both races who think deep-seated social and economic problems can be adjusted with brickbats.

8-22-44

"Communities which fear racial clashes would do well to get white and Negro leaders together now—not after such a clash has occurred—to plan psychological warfare' against the tensions that threaten to disturb the peace."

Leadership

Pursuit Of Democracy

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Unfounded Humor in Serious Situations Is Kind of Social Pathology

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

8-26-44

SEVERAL weeks ago I commented upon the much-photographed levity of the Negro politicians at both Chicago conventions. Since then, several sober-minded souls have taken the trouble to inforom me of their accord with my hope that our leaders will dispense with these toothy testimonials of politics-through-joy. One of my correspondents reminded me that this unwarranted gaiety persists in other fields of discussion and action, as well as in politics. His impressions of a recent meeting of a group of businessmen are a plausible description of almost any comparable assemblage, to wit: "The most popular persons around were the story-teller who more often than not, distracted serious attention from the subject under discussion. I had to protest to these older men with established reputations that I had not come there to play. I had to reprove seatmates who were constantly observing humorous facets of the proceedings."

Miss McKenzie

8-26-44

It would be no more than fair and, of course, better sociology to differentiate between the general decorum, say, of a fish fry in rural South Carolina and a meeting of the National Medical association in Cleveland. A foregathering of the Elks at Atlantic City should not resemble the annual conference of the AME Zion Church at Detroit. The techniques of putting on a parade and electing a bishop would seem to be entirely unrelated, especially in terms of the fun involved. The whole gamut of class differences within the race, based upon income and education and cultural heritage, should provide no ground for all-pervading racial personality traits. We would be the first to protest if white observers were to imply the existence of any such stigmata. But it IS certainly possible to detect a fish fry aroma in the air at many a gathering of the professional and Greek fraternal organizations.

8-26-44

POINTS TO LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE

Recently I witnessed one of the most uncouth displays of bad manners and poor taste I have ever seen at an annual event sponsored by a group of professional men and women. I have yet to attend a church convention where Negro ministers did not delay the order of the day with more self-deprecating jokes than the white clergy and laity ever indulged in about them. And where, pray tell, does Hollywood get the prototypes for its buffoons and clowns except in Negro night clubs from Negro entertainers?

TO be able to laugh is good, and to be able to laugh at one's self is rather noble. It relieves tension and helps people get together. But sustained and unfounded humor in serious situations is a kind of social pathology. It is a delaying machination, pointing to lack of self-confidence, to uncertainty of procedure and objectives, to misconception of values, and to an unwillingness to dare impartial choices between men or between ideas. A laugh and a joke have served well to cover up our mistakes and ignorance and poor judgment.

8-26-44

A BY-PRODUCT OF FORCED SEGREGATION

Laughter is also a good blind for wounded pride and we have a reputation for laughter. Just look at us, say the white folks, always so happy, always singing and dancing. A good way to dissemble the trouble we've seen, to hide the hurts, we reply. And then again, our extreme pleasure in meeting for any purpose, business or social, with groups of people in a free atmosphere may be an exaggerated response to two infrequent release from loneliness and repression. Here is one of the minor but costly—in terms of human adjustment—by-products of segregation. People forced into narrow residential areas, denied admission to public recreational facilities, pressed in upon themselves for cultural development, are liable, when momentarily freed, to act more like suddenly uncaged lions than as normal human beings.

8-26-44

THE answer to a cultural problem of a racial island is, of course, generic, in terms of the total society. We may expect the disappearance of the outward manifestations of inward tension and insecurity only when all of the people participate in all of the culture. I will refrain, therefore, from joining the cult of the exhorters for reform and work, instead, for the cure that lies in political and economic equality.

44-1944

On Our Leadership

During these perilous times, when all kinds of race tensions and explosions are occurring, the U. S. Negro finds himself wallowing around without any effective leadership. By effective leadership is meant the kind that attracts followers, goes places and does things. A few years ago when A. Philip Randolph captured the imagination of all groups with his march on Washington movement, many persons said: At last we have a guy who can do things and take us places. Amsterdam News

Unfortunately, the march movement petered out after Mr. Roosevelt issued his executive order banning discrimination in war industries and set up FEPC to do the banning. The movement lost all of its steam because Mr. Randolph, a natural born leader, apparently didn't have the time to devote to it, because he was so set on keeping the Communist out that it became spragged on the perennial red-pink or Communist-Socialist argument. Which is, as we all know, a bitter one. If it had been possible for Mr. Randolph to have kept the movement truly alive, it is easily conceivable that it would now have a half million active members instead of a few scattered thousand.

New York, N. Y.

Leaders Are Divided

Currently and roughly our leaders are divided into two groups: (1) the southern group, and (2) the northern group. The former is still trying to eat its cake and have it too, by somewhat timidly demanding the abolition of discrimination, but agreeing that segregation is OK, at least for the time being. When someone yells, heh! you can't have segregation without discrimination, because they're one and the same thing, the Dixie leaders assume a pained look and retort: it takes time to solve the race problem. But we're making some headway. And didn't some of the leading liberal southern whites meet with us the other day to discuss The Problem? We told 'em off, too. Furthermore, when lunch time came, they sat right down and ate with us. Boy, we're really making progress down here! But remember, it takes time to solve The Problem.

Fried Food and Oratory

And that's about as far as things have got in the land of fried food and oratory. However, while our leaders in the south are giving as an example of progress the fact that a handful of pleasant talking southern whites sat right down and ate lunch with them, those in the north are still flailing their chests and simultaneously demanding the abolition of all forms of discrimination and segregation without doing any leg or head work to accomplish their objectives. If, for instance, President Fred D. Paterson, of Tuskegee, says amen every time Governor Sparks of Alabama gets up at the Institute and comes out for white supremacy in his speeches, Walter White, of the NAACP does little more than beep and beat his chest about racial conditions. Apparently both men are enmeshed in their personal importance. Morever, neither knows the masses of Negroes and the masses don't know or give a hoot about them. 1-8-44

Of course, this business of trying to lead any race anywhere at any time is a tough and thankless job, but this is no excuse for anyone who sets himself up in this somewhat peculiar enterprise. Not unlike pins in a bowling alley, any race leader is subject to be bowled over at almost anytime. Besides, it is good for them to know what we think of them.

Leaders Miss the Boat

It seems to me that all our leaders miss the boat in one super-important respect: They have never tried very hard, if at all, to drive home to the masses of colored citizens the fact that they are first, last and always American citizens, despite what anybody says. Regardless of the fact that colored citizens are pushed around plenty and, therefore, have a perfect right to squawk, nevertheless, none of our leaders has done anything effective to impress on them that they must not fail to carry out their responsibilities as citizens, especially during wartime. 1-8-44

While any citizen, black or white, has a perfect right to denounce the army and navy for the shoddy way in which they treat their colored personnel, at the same time they should impress on the colored service men the fact that their responsibilities are equal to those of any other soldier or sailor, and that they must make good at all hazards. The reason for telling them this is not to please the white man, but to build as securely as possible the one and only basis for full enjoyment of all rights and privileges that go with citizenship: willing and commendable execution of the responsibilities of citizenship.

Performing Duties Well

Fortunately, the masses of colored citizens are performing their citizenship duties well, while plumping hard for their full rights and privileges. Their loyalty and ability can be questioned by no man.

Our leaders, however, had little or nothing to do with their frame of mind. They arrived at it through adversity and courage, and they're going to win their battle the same way. It would, indeed, be wonderful if the masses were blessed with a real leader who could take them places, but quickly. As matters stand today, it's better for everybody concerned if our current crop of leaders pipe down.

Leadership

SOUTHERN SAY-SO

Courier - Pittsburg, Pa.

Denounces Attack of H. Laurence McNeil on Memphis Negro Leaders

By M. S. STUART

1-29-44

LAST week it was the blonde, this week the brunette, panjandrum as promised. In the issue of December 11, 1943, a certain pompous, irreverent beneficiary of religious charity released deliberate and unprovoked misrepresentations about Negro leaders of Memphis and about this columnist in particular. Immediately the devil got up and moved that verjuice vengeance be wreaked upon that pious prevaricator by stating that he is a prevaricating, parable-prating, parasitic, profiteering pulpit panjandrum, pretending pious pity for people among whom he either fears, or disdains, to live and share the conditions about which he pretends to be so concerned. But this writer objects to the devil's motion and offers an amendment that all that string of adjectives except **prevaricating** be struck out; and that will be sustained.

Mr. Stuart

DIVERSE OPINIONS WELCOMED

At the start, let it be made clear that this space invites differences of opinions if confined to facts and principles. When they descend to the level of abuse and without justification impugn the motives, then they will be denounced in kind, if noticed at all.

IN the case at hand, the Reverend H. Laurence McNeil, pastor of Zion Baptist church of Dayton, Ohio, for the ostensible purpose of arousing dissatisfaction in a contented, harmonious church membership whose pastor is absent in the Army of the nation, attacked the city of Memphis, denounced its Negro leaders as appeasers of oppression and charged that this writer forsook the interest of the group for self-interest by permitting the city political organization to hold a meeting in the church.

APOLOGIZE OR QUIT PREACHING

This piece will show beyond a reasonable doubt that this pious pity prevaricated at least twice if he is responsible for the release reputed to him. If that is done, then he ought to make public apology or never preach again.

THIS columnist defies H. L. McNeil to point out any single item of self-interest or thing of value ever received or sought that could have prompted the column criticized. Without knowing the facts, he evidently presumed that this writer is or was in some direct or personal way a beneficiary of the Shelby County, Tenn., political machine. He is defied to show that a single dollar or other thing of value has ever been received from that organization.

IF HE HAD reference to its reputed leader, then, believe it or not, despite 24 years of residence in the city, this columnist has never personally met, talked to, had a written communication from, or sought any favors from the distinguished Memphian, although there is no reason to believe that he would not have been kindly disposed to any reasonable and worthy request. That liquidates prevarication, number one about self-interest. 1-29-44

UNBRIDLED TONGUE

But it is about the meeting in the church that this gospel gossiper descended to the depths of misrepresentation in saying: "I heard this very same columnist apologize to the church for granting permission to hold a political meeting in the church without concurrence by a majority of the trustee board." This loose-tongued preacher heard nothing of the kind, and he is defied to produce a single officer of the church or responsible member who will say that this columnist ever apologized to the church for this meeting or any other act.

ON the contrary, on the occasion when this reverend was present, and at all subsequent times, every suggestion of any semblance of apology was rejected, and at the end of the year, to test the sentiment of the church, this writer tendered his resignation from all official positions in the church. In his absence the membership unanimously refused to accept the resignation and elected a committee to call upon him at his residence to request that it be withdrawn. This was done and the church moves in harmony despite McNeil's long distance attempt to disrupt it.

YOUR TOWN

If you do not love your hometown, you ought to. This writer does. Recently a young man who lived many years in Memphis moved to another Southern city to engage in work which causes him to visit in several other cities of the South. Unprovoked "out of a clear sky," he volunteered the remark: "In the matter of material benefits for Negroes, I wish all the South had the type of authoritative leadership you have in Memphis." 1-29-44

DESPITE prevaricating panjandrums this space will defend the old home-town.

President's Aide Lauds Southern Leadership

Tribune - Philadelphia, Pa.

1-15-44

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (ANP) —Jonathan Daniels, well known former editor of the News and Observer, of Raleigh, N. C., now serving as administrative assistant to President Roosevelt, told the Rotary club here that "people in the south would all stay poor together or all be richer together.

"Fortunately for the south," Daniels said, "there is leadership in it which is neither lost in dreaming or raving in demagoguery. It is native leadership which does not regard the people of the south, white or black, as merely colonial labor working in poverty for the enrichment of a few. It has faith in the south people. It has seen the southern people stay poor together in

"Young Man, Go South"

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Embree, outlining basic steps toward the unness of democracy for American Negroes, adfive other plans, that Negroes keep moving outh. He says: "There is no decent life for all e southern rurals so far as the mind of man will have a hard time even in the North and least you will have some freedom. You'll have ls for your children and some public provision n, for reading and listening to music, for y. As you leave the South you will relieve of the pressure which is always heaviest olored masses are densest. At least another es should move out of the South during this ed Mr. Embree. 6-4-44

Atlanta Daily World

Edwin Embree

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"The one certain thing about it was said by a great Alabaman

educator a good many years ago. He was the Negro, Booker T. Washington, who told us the only way the white man is going to keep the Negro in the ditch is to stay there with him. It's a rule which is not merely racial. We shall all stay poor together or all be richer together.

"Fortunately for the south," Daniels said, "there is leadership in it which is neither lost in dreaming or raving in demagoguery. It is native leadership which does not regard the people of the south, white or black, as merely colonial labor working in poverty for the enrichment of a few. It has faith in the south people. It has seen the southern people stay poor together in

Murray, a law graduate of the famed institution, suggested to his six colleagues that the entire class of seven go down to Mississippi together. "In ten years," he said, "we might come back to Congress."

For more than a year, we have weighed the soundness of Edwin Embree's advice and to what extent southern Negroes should follow it in moving away from the South. There is certainly a difference between what Mr. Embree suggested and the advice of Dr. Johnson. One would have Negroes keep moving out of the South. The other would have educated Negroes moving back into the South where they can furnish the leadership so necessary for the Negro masses.

There is no doubting the truth that the illiterate, unchurched and near home-less plantation Negroes of the South could better themselves and their economic and social conditions by moving to Northern or Western areas, rather than remaining in squalor, filth and ignorance in the rurals. Such a person can make no sizeable contribution to the growth and expansion of the South. He is purposely denied the larger opportunities for reasons of support to the white landed aristocrats and planters. His treatment and enslavement is a long and dark story in southern history and culture. It is for just such people and situations that Dr. Johnson challenged the graduates of Howard to come South. The Negroes of the South need leadership today more than at any time in their history. They need courageous leadership, the kind that is self-effacing and wholly unselfish.

Who could furnish this leadership any more effectively than the Negro law school graduates. The South today is the most virgin and promising field for Negro lawyers than any other profession. It is the most lucrative field also. But, no matter who comes South and no matter how great their education, if they do not possess the courage and unselfish devotion to the suffering of their people, they can do little in solving the problems and leading their people.

6-4-44

A glance at the campuses of southern Negro colleges today will serve to emphasize our position. Leadership for the Southern Negro is most certainly not being supplied by these educators. In many instances their names bounce back and forth in the headlines. But fundamentally, they do hardly more than pay lip-service to Negro struggles for citizenship. They are the ones who will send out brilliant essays and write high-sounding resolutions on the full integration of Negroes in American life. But, except in a few scattered instances, they cannot be depended upon to take any active participation in the vigorous, every-day battles of their people in the courts, in labor and industry and on other lines of actual battle. That leadership can help us little. But the kind with courage, determination and unselfish devotion to the cause of their people is what the South needs and must have. Give us this and we will not object to Mr. Embree's suggestion of letting more of the other kind moving North.

Plain Talk

Atlanta Daily World
6-18-44

BY DAN GARDNER

Atlanta, Ga.

Says We Have Too Many Leaders

ONE SIDE OF the Negro leadership problem that seems to have been missed by those trying to straighten out the matter is that we have too many leaders representing too many shades of opinion and schools of thought. The sooner we narrow down our leadership to a half dozen or less, the sooner the conflicting viewpoints which retard our local and national progress will be eliminated.

6-18-44

Roughly Negro leadership can be divided into two camps: the one, which demands complete integration of the Negro into American life, inter-marriage, social equality and all; and the other, which demands a militant racial consciousness based on what the experts call nationalism along the lines followed by the Jewish-Americans, Irish-Americans, and so forth. In other words, they want to make the Negro conscious of the fact that he is first of all a Negro and secondly an American.

RAISE VEXING PROBLEMS

The boys who want complete integration are the ones who raise the most vexing problems and correspondingly the ones who have the most glamorous problem for the more cultured and educated portions of the Negro population. The militancy of DuBois, Trotter and before them, Douglass, in demanding the complete absorption of the Negro into the American stream of life has had a deep effect on the Negro classes. The militancy of Garvey, and before him Greener, in advocating return of the Negro to Africa or to some "homeland" has instilled the seeds of hope for "deliverance" some day into the hearts of millions among the Negro masses.

In between these two classes can be sandwiched one that bases its theory of solution of the problem on playing both ends against the middle by seeking "economic" freedom as outlined by Booker T. Washington. This class, and there are many, numbering notably our Negro businessmen, and our educators who want more Negro colleges and more Negro schools, contends that the white man will smile on it with more favor since he is more likely to give Negroes a chance to earn their bread and board than he is to let them marry his daughters as in the case of the integrationalists, or to create an economic and political vacuum by allowing huge numbers to depart from the country as happened when the Jews fled Pharoah.

MANY ARE CONFUSED

Faced with this situation, the white man in power who is inclined toward liberality in dealing with the Negro question is completely confused. If he, for example, wants to help get Negro housing units in a set-up where only Negroes will live, he is accused of segregating Negroes. If he mixes them up, he opens himself for criticism that he is seeking to destroy Negro unity and solidarity. The Army separates Negroes into all-colored units and arranges an officer panel from corporal to brigadier general. It catches hell because it forces segregation of fighting men on a base of color and race, yet thousands of Negroes stick out their chests in great pride over what the Jim Crow 99th Pursuit Squadron is doing at Cassino. While the Army is being assailed for having colored regiments and divisions in the first place, Negro candidates for officer berths are plentiful on all sides.

In Washington the complexities of Negro leadership are shown in the maneuvering that goes on as Negroes jockey for position as "advisers on Negro affairs," "Negro experts," Negro consultants," and other groupings in which voluntary segregation and acceptance of the status quo is apparent.

There are those who hailed former Congressman Arthur Mitchell's victory over that Southern railroad as the most important triumph of our time in that Mitchell had fought for and won the right to "equal accommodations" on that railroad.

TRICK IN "EQUAL"

Yet, even in the word "equal," is the trick by which the white man avoids the demands and thwarts the desires of that class of Negroes who want integration. All the white man does is hitch another car exactly like the one he uses onto the train and open the door for the Negro patrons. The accommodations are "Equal" aren't they? he reasons.

Down in Washington John P. Davis is raising hell with city officials because his son can't attend the school in the neighborhood where he lives which happens to be a white school. A suit might presumably force an issue in which all Washington schools, elementary, high school and college, could be opened for Negroes. In such a situation it might be assumed that hundreds of Negro school teachers who are uncomfortable jobs in Washington's Jim Crow school system would be thrown out of jobs. Yet, a demand of integration would have been served.

6-18-44

At Jefferson City, Missouri, where Lucille Bluefield's demand to be admitted into the University of Missouri School of Journalism forced the state into opening a Jim Crow school at Lincoln University where only a handful of Negro pupils attended Journalism classes, the Negro nationalists were probably served well—if the project had gone through. But the white people got tired of paying all that money for such a setup and decided to do something else—sending the white faculty of the University of Missouri even to teach the Negroes and tossing out the Negro instructors.

All this is to show that a tight Negro leadership united on one program, one ideal and one demand could do more to gain recognition, freedom and advancement for the race than all the diversified bunch now operating and would go far to dispel the thought that to be a Negro leader all one has to do is to wear a shirt with a tie and be able to read a newspaper.

Race Attitude Harms Leadership

Interracial
1-29-44
Negro Leaders

ST. LOUIS.—(ANP)—"America's traditional attitude toward Negroes represented a blot on the national conscience which, unless changed, will make it impossible for this country to assume world leadership in post-war affairs," declared Rabbi Julius Gordon at a meeting observing the 25th anniversary of the Urban League at Bishop Tuttle Memorial, last Thursday night.

"Racial prejudice has worked havoc in the old world and must not be repeated here," he said. "There is only one way to cope with the discriminatory precedents of American life and that is to create new opportunities for the Negro in employment, education and social life."

In the last 24 years the league's employment service has placed more than 50,000 persons in jobs. The league has worked consistently to educate members of the race in labor relations to insure interracial cooperation in industry.

From the Readers

PM-New York, N.Y.
6-25-44
On Pauli Murray

Dear Editor:

I read John Lewis' letter and the condensed letters from Pauli Murray and found it both soul stirring and heartrending. What a terrible problem and what a scourge in this supposedly free and democratic country.

I feel with Mr. Lewis that Miss Murray will take the harder road and work with and for her people and also the poor whites, who need her even more.

I realize it is a terrible sacrifice for one who is young, dynamic and full of the joy of life to go to the "bottoms of the Southland," but I sometimes think it is even worse up North for an educated, intelligent and sensitive colored person—with discrimination in schools, colleges, movies, restaurants, hotels, homes, etc.

I think it is up to our white youth even more than the colored to go down South and help clean up the cesspools, both physical and mental, which we have too long allowed to accumulate.

6-25-44

Why not seriously make appeals to our liberal colleges and to our churches and synagogues to put a bewildered world. Thank God for into practice what they have preached for centuries.

LENA I. JAFFE

Philadelphia

Mater; also orchids for the fine challenge you have thrown out to John P. Lewis, who has seen to it that the reading public can hear your story; and lastly, thank God for PM, which has the guts, at all

Bravo Pauli Murray! Congratula-times. to call a spade a spade.

DR. CHARLES W. DORSEY

tions for your splendid record at Howard University — my Alma Philadelphia

44-1944

Passing Parade

Daily World - Atlanta, Ga
2-6-44

By Frank Marshall Davis

Check Your Dagger, Mister

HOW ABOUT REMOVING that dagger you have hidden on your person and leaving it in the checkroom for a while, Mr. Race Leader? I'm talking directly to you. A Philip Randolph, Perry Howard, George Schuyler, William L. Patterson, Willard Townsend, Milton P. Webster, Frank Crosswaith Edgar Brown, Max Yergan and the rest of you who are out in front fighting for a brighter day for Aframerica.

Not every one of these named goes around with his nose to the earth smelling up excuses to stick a knife between the ribs of the leaders who refuse to think as he does. Some are willing and ready to sit down right now and plan with the others for a unified program. But too many of those named seem to live only for an opportunity to sock the others. You know who they aree.

The united nations demand unity in the war against the axis. America itself must have unity to bring the conflict to an early conclusion and save lives and money. It is obvious that the Negro himself needs unity in this same battle against fascism abroad as well as against the anti-democratic front which gets stronger day by day within our borders. The very fact that we are at the bottom of the pile strengthens the need for unity if we seriously intend to better our lot.

SHOULD SET PATTERN

The recent Teheran decisions between Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill ought to set the pattern for our group thinking. If such conflicting ideologies as those of Socialist Russia, Great Britain and America can find a common basis for coopration not only in war but in the peace to follow, I call upon each of you leaders why cannnot leaders of Dusky-merica do likewise, when all have common grievances and look toward the same goal, full citizenship for the Negro?

But instead we see the continuing and sorry spectacle of racial disharmony. Certain leaders, notably Randolph, Crosswaith and Schuyler follow the at Rankin and Goebbels line of Red-baiting, when even the sorriest ignoramus among us ought to know that there is no element in our population more desirous of completely eliminating fascism at home and abroad and working in harmony than are the

Leadership

would be clashes, but if those leaders are sincerely interested in advancing the common cause and determined to formulate a practical program, they can find a way to do it. 2-6-44

Specifically, I believe that Walter White and William L. Patterson and Willard Townsend and Milton P. Webster and Frank Crosswaith and Max Yergan and Lester Granger and our top Republicans and our top Democrats can sit down and plan together, if they are sincere about wanting to help black America. But if they were interested only in personal glory or advantage, such a conference would be doomed from the start.

What about it, readers? What do you think, leaders?

BREACHES EXIST 2-6-44

It is not necessary to mention the Democratic politicians, or the churchmen of conflicting the denominations, or the northern leader vs southern leader controversy, to underline the wide open breaches among us. Every sensible person knows they exist, and the fact weakens our fight. The Imperialistic energy we should be using to advance the race as a whole is dissipated squabbling and battling among ourselves.

And if you decide that marching forward to unqualified Negro citizenship is more important, are you willing to accelerate the pace by subordinating your own selfish attitudes to a broad and unified program that cries for the cooperation of all groups if it would be successful?

CAN FIND A WAY

There seems to me no reason why intelligent men cannot sit down together and shape a pattern for things to come. Of course there would be clashes, but if those leaders are sincerely interested in advancing the common cause and determined to formulate a practical program, they can find a way to do it.

Specifically, I believe that Walter White and William L. Patterson and Willard Townsend and Milton P. Webster and Frank Crosswaith and Max Yergan and Lester Granger and our top Republicans and our top Democrats can sit down and plan together, if they are sincere about wanting to help black America. But if they were interested only in personal glory or advantage, such a conference would be doomed from the start.

What about it, readers? What do you think, leaders?

Pointed Points

New York, N.Y. Amsterdam News 2-26-44

By S. W. Garlington

THE HONOR ROLL OF RACE RELATIONS for 1943 was released last week. Twelve Negroes "who most distinguished themselves during last year" and six whites or institutions over the same period "who have done most for the improvement of race relations" were listed. As a whole the selection was palatable—but disappointing in one major omission. Let's look at the Negroes who "most distinguished themselves," according to the poll conducted by the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature. To refresh your mind, they were—

Mr. Garlington

Actress LENA (POINTED POINTS' Woman-of-the-Year selection) HORNE; W. E. BURGHARDT, "AMSTERDAM - NEWS" columnist DUBOIS; Former AMSTERDAM-NEWS Reporter ROI "Best Selling" NEW WORLD A-COMING OTTLEY; NYC Communist Councilman BEN DAVIS, Jr.; WINFRED "Marian Old nation-wide prize winning Nancy Agnes Durant ;the author and narrator of the War Department movie on "The Negro Soldier", CARLTON MOSS; NO DAY OF TRIUMPH'S prize winning author J. SAUNDERS REDDING; the teacher who put Negro History in Chi schools—MADELINE MORGAN; KATHERINE "Interpretative Dancer" DUNHAM; the late THOMAS "Fats" WALLER, and the famous 99th PURSUIT SQUADRON. 2-26-44

What did the piano wizard, Waller, do last year to distinguish himself that he did not equal or surpass in other years? Maybe he was selected because he died. If so, then what about George Washington Carver and Fred R. Moore? They, too, distinguished themselves during their lifetimes—but not in 1943. But this is neither here nor there. I am not concerned with which of the dozen should not have appeared —but only in an omission which I label criminal negligence.

* * *

WHAT INDIVIDUAL DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF in 1943 more than Justice Francis E. Rivers of the N. Y. C. Court? In selecting His Honor as MAN-OF-THE-YEAR I pointed out how "he rose above race by winning an office in no way connected to Negro life in the nation's largest city, and was elected (mostly by white voters) to the highest salaried public office ever attained by an American Negro.

"Justice Rivers represents a new type of individual. Not one who went out of his way to ballyhoo the so-called Negro's cause, as most 'leaders', but one who for the past twenty years has acted, talked, walked and looked like a judge. Not a Negro justice, but a judge without racial identity—going about his various duties with one thought in mind: perfection in achievement. Hence, just as Negroes are held back by the misdeeds of a few of their members, in like proportion they are given a much needed 'lift' by the good deeds and accomplishments of Negroes. Therefore, the momentum of Justice Rivers' victory is inestimable in terms of giving the welfare of the Negro a boost."

PAGING DR. L. D. REDDICK, Curator of the Schomburg Collection! I understand that your Honor Roll was the results of the tabulation of the suggestions of over 100 invited leaders throughout the nation. If so, then they evidently do not keep up with the actual trends of the day and threw together the first names to "jump up" in their minds. Otherwise, how could they have overlooked Justice Rivers? Or, can it be that the selectors do not consider accomplishment in American life proper, and use the "Negro sphere" as the guide? Come to think of it, this could not be, because they named Dr. Dubois for his election—the first Negro—to the National Institute of Arts and Letters. So, it seems as if we have a $64 question before the house. Can anyone furnish the answer?

2-26-44

People's Voice - New York, N.Y. 2-26-44

If it were possible to assign titles to people doing jobs that affect great numbers of people then there is but one that would seem to fit Dr. James Edward Sheppard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes. That title would be **Minister of Apology in the Department of Propaganda for the Southern States and Their Sympathizers Who Believe in Racial Discrimination Predicated on the Legal and Systematic Repression of Negroes.** P.S.: He serves without portfolio, of course. That's a long title it's true but if you trace the venerable gentleman's activities for the last few years, you'll realize how appropriate — and accurate — it is. Take his active part in that conference to craft a charter for SOUTHERN Negroes a year or so back, some freakish desire he has to parrot (by implication) the claim of his bosses that it be stated that he speaks not for the New Negro but for the disgusting uncletommism that must have made the Negro of Northern Negroes now he goes on the radio the other night with some more states' rights, he comes up with such a conference as if the problem of Southern Negroes was any different from that of any other oppressed minority. And his little band of bandana wearers and he alone

Race Relations Honor Roll Includes 99th Squadron

Afro-American - Baltimore, Md.
2-19-44

FEPC Head, DuBois, Roi Ottley, Lena Horne, PM Cited for Contributions Made in 1943

NEW YORK — The 99th Pursuit Squadron, two authors, an actress, PM Newspaper, and a New York City Councilman were among the twelve colored and six white individuals, organizations, or institutions named on the 1943 Honor Roll of Race Relations.

The persons or institutions honored were selected for having done most during the past year for the improvement of race relations "in terms of real democracy."

History Week Feature

The honor roll, a feature of History Week which began Monday, is the result of a nation-wide poll conducted each year by the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the N.Y. Public Library, Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, curator.

In announcing the list, Dr. Reddick said there was no attempt to rank the names. The complete honor roll follows:

Colored

99th PURSUIT SQUADRON, all-colored air unit, for its record in the United Nations' offensive in Italy.

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, of Atlanta University, for his election—the first colored—to the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

LENA HORNE, stage and screen star, who, in winning glorification as a beautiful American girl, broke the stereotyped presentation of the colored actress.

ROI OTTLEY, for his best seller, "New World A-Coming."

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., for his election to the New York City Council—the first colored Communist to be elected to high public office in the United States.

WINFRED LYNN, for his fight through the courts to abolish jim crow in the armed forces.

NANCY A. DURANT, 15-year-old pupil from Alexandria, Va., for winning an award in the nation-wide search for talent conducted by Science Clubs of America.

CARLTON MOSS, for writing the script of "The Negro Soldier" — outstanding film produced and distributed under the auspices of the War Department. 2-19-44

REDDING HONORED

MADELINE MORGAN, for her work in securing the incorporation of the study of colored life and history in the curriculum of the Chicago public school system.

J. SAUNDERS REDDING, for winning, with his book, "No Day of Triumph," the award of The Society of Mayflower Descendants of the State of North Carolina.

KATHERINE DUNHAM, for her success in presenting authentic dances of colored people in Brazil, the West Indies and the United States.

THOMAS (FATS) WALLER, whose death brought to a close a spectacular career as a creator of popular songs.

Whites

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, for leading the fight to abolish racial segregation on the street cars, buses and other public carriers of Virginia.

MALCOLM ROSS, for his work as chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee.

THE LATE DR. FREDERICK PAUL KEPPEL, of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, for initiating and securing support for the most scientific study yet made of American democracy and the color problem — "An American Dilemma," by Gunnar Myrdal.

CAPTAIN STUART HEISLER, for directing "The Negro Soldier," the best movie film yet produced on the part the colored man has played in the wars of the United States.

THE COOPER UNION FORUM, directed by Dr. Houston Peterson, for taking the lead in educating the American public on the history and culture of African peoples. The forum's fourteen lectures by outstanding scholars were attended by more than 10,000 persons.

THE NEWSPAPER PM, for its wise and consistent fight for equal rights for all—irrespective of color, creed or class.

Plain Talk

BY DAN GARDNER

Mass Discipline Lack Threatens

Daily World-Atlanta, Ga.

PROBABLY OUR GREATEST need today is someone to give the race a lasting lesson in the fundamental values of life beyond the mere routine of getting the job to earn the money with which to buy food, pay the rent and purchase clothes. 6-11-44

Without going into the long argumentative passages of profound sociological whyfores and wherefores of the race problems, it can be safely said that the American Negro stands in danger of losing every social advantage he has won or been granted unless he pulls himself together right away and gets rid of his own burden. That burden is, lack of mass discipline lack of respect for the rights of others and true pride in honest race achievement.

The war is going to end some day and when it does many of the in the midst of a national hysteria are going to be taken from us by the white flushed with victory and with enhanced pride in the abilities of the Nordic to rule the world, including its darker peoples.

DARK FUTURE LOOMS

The prejudices which we fight at home so valiantly are going to be more vicious, and necessary to the white man as he settles down to reconstruction of his domestic social order. First and foremost among the reasons that will be put forward why the Negro must be kept in the status of a second rate citizen or inferior being is that he cannot control his own people. It will be claimed that he must constantly be supervised by whites (whether by policemen, lynching mobs, or Jim Crow rules and regulations) to avoid serious consequences to the overall pattern of American domestic social and economic values. 6-11-44

The white man is going to point to all the outward manifestations of our lack of control as a basis for his superior attitude; he is going to illustrate his case with the increasing incidents of our juvenile delinquency, pointing out cases which he will contend stress characteristic racial tendencies. He is going to show that Negro children, masses of them are almost completely ignorant of the disciplinary controls that go with American family life and run wild through a thousand streets of as many American cities until they either settle down of their own accord or are disciplined by the prison cell, gallows or electric chair. He is going to point out in his argument for his reason for putting increased pressure on the Negro.

Negro leadership is demanding and getting more economic and social advantages than the Negro public is ready to receive, that the Negro of earlier generations reared in the fear of the white man, taught by example to accept the inferior status in which he was placed) is typical of the kind of Negro to be desired to live in the midst of the "new white" civilization the white man intends to build in this country after the war.

WE SUFFER TOO MUCH HASTE

It is strange, indeed, that in our rapid acquisition of better places in American life—the outstanding jobs that have come to us in recognition of our abilities; the social prestige we are attaining on the exploits of our Marian Andersons, Paul Robesons, Joe Louises, Ben Davises, George Washington Carvers, and so on—those leading us haven't seen the fact that the great mass of Negroes—the 20 million and over of us who make up American's biggest group—are being criminally neglected. 6-11-44

It would be lovely indeed, if that small minority of the American Negroes who have had the advantages of schooling, exposure to cultural influences are ready to take their place in the Negro middle class, were all that mattered.

The problem then would be basically changed. The possibilities of complete integration into American life of the Negro would be brighter.

The efforts of Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and others along this line would not have been put forth needlessly.

Negro Voters' aids up to full support for President Roosevelt and the progressive foreign and domestic policies for which he continues to fight. Whoever would influence the Negro vote, regardless of his race or party affiliation, let him begin by recognizing this basic and commanding truth.

Toward Freedom

Daily Worker-New York, N.Y.

LAST week's nonpartisan "Declaration by Negro Voters" is a statement by the authoritative leaders of a politically mature and progressive people. Both major political parties would do well to heed their pronouncements. This is no less true of certain would-be leaders of the Negro people. 6-26-44

We have come a long way from the time when the Negro vote could be bought for cash or token appointments or nice-sounding declarations of good intentions. In the words of leaders of 25 national Negro organizations with a combined membership of more than 6,500,000 citizens:

"The votes of Negroes cannot be purchased by distributing money to or through party hacks. They cannot be won by pointing to jobs given a few individual Negroes. . . . Negroes are no longer persuaded by meaningless generalizations in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day."

We have also come a long way from the time when the Republican or the Democratic Party could count the Negro vote as "in the bag." As last week's declaration by Negro leaders pointed out: "Negro voters played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as judge in the same community, a Democratic Mayor of Cleveland, a Republican Governor in Kentucky, and in cooperation with organized labor and other progressive forces, in the withdrawal and defeat of hostile Congressmen in Alabama, Texas and California."

MOREOVER, the time is now past when "Negro rights" was the sole political issue to which Negro voters would respond. The Negro people are learning that the future of Negro democratic rights depends fundamentally upon the triumph of democratic political and economic policies in the country as a whole. 6-26-44

Thus it is that these national Negro leaders declare, with a statesmanship that few groups in our country can match:

"The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting the country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes the vigorous prosecution of the war. . . . In evaluating the merits of parties and candidates we must include **all issues**—those touching the life of Negroes as a group, as well as those affecting the entire country."

On the question of democratic rights for Negro and other oppressed peoples, the elected spokesmen of approximately one-half the entire Negro population are equally specific and direct. They demand: (1) the right to vote in every state; (2) federal anti-lynching and anti-polltax legislation; (3) use of cloture to stop Senate filibusters; (4) a permanent FEPC; (5) the end of Jim Crow and other discriminations in the armed forces, and (6) the end of imperialism and colonial exploitation.

* * *

THIS admirable statement does more than reflect credit upon its authors. It correctly expresses the growing political maturity of the people for whom they speak.

There are some clever politicians meeting in Chicago this week who are eager to find some trick by which to lure Negro votes. There are some clever Negro publishers beware, lest they find themselves trampled and other would-be leaders who are on the under by the forward march of a people who point of endorsing the Dewey Republican have learned the lesson of progressive po- enemies of all that to which Negro and other litical action. democratic Americans aspire. Let them also. It is clear that the recent "Declaration by

EDITOR'S DIGEST

Weekly Review
By ROBERT DURR
Birmingham, Ala.

Leaders Praised
2-19-44

Negro and white leadership of the South deserves commendation for defeating the agitators on the race issue in their effort to stir up race strife and cause riots throughout the South. The agitators, part of them, are working under the Axis banner for the purpose of using the Negro race issue in their 'Divide and Conquer' scheme to win the war.

Others, who are working for the Communist Party use the Negro issue in their effort to strengthen the Communist Party in the post-war world. Agitators would have the Negro believe that the whites of the South, where ten million Negroes live are his worst enemy. They even fail to credit the South with having any fair-minded white citizens that have the interest of the Negro's welfare. The agitators try to make the Negro believe that very employer robs the Negro of his wages regardless of what he is paid.

The only hope and relief for this situation, they say is that the Negroes must join either the AFL or CIO unions and sign a deduction slip for a certain amount of their money each month for the unions. They fail to tell the Negro of any of the discriminatory clauses or practices that are carried on by labor unions against Negroes. All employers are "damned" and blamed for all forms of discrimination against Negroes in war plants and elsewhere.

Other agitators go to Negro meetings, regardless of their nature and preach that "now is the time for the Negro to fight for his rights" and some get the idea that to "fight" means violence and to carry a chip on their shoulders toward other races. 2-19-44

On the other hand there are a group of agitators who go around exciting white people, telling them of the danger of Negro uprisings and the destruction to white people. In secret meetings some of the demagogue politicians and Axis agents tell of "myth organizations among Negroes to destroy the white race in that community."

The OWI released one instance where white people were excited over a rumor that all Negro servants had purchased ice picks to commit violence on white people during black-out nights. FBI investigation showed that not a single Negro had bought an ice pick.

They have even sought to embarass Mrs. Roosevelt, the first lady, by chargng that Eleanor Clubs have been formed throughout the South to get Negroes out of kitchens.

The next move used is the transportation system, especially street cars and buses to make trouble. Both Negroes and whites are encouraged to ignore Jim Crow signs and sit by anyone who might come in. Appeals are made to Negroes to quit their jobs even without notice and turn their backs upon employers they have known many years.

Negroes and whites of the South as a whole, do not swallow this propaganda hook line and sinker. Of course some believe it but the majority of whites feel that they know the Negro and can trust him. Many Negroes' faith is still unshaken in the white people. In other words, the saying of Booker T. Washington is proven true "Every white man has his Negro and every Negro has his white man."

The saying that "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good" may be applied to our race tension. One major result is the leadership in both races has taken cognizance of many of the problems affecting the masses not only to discuss them frankly but to do something about them.

For example, police brutality in many sections has been halted and treatment of Negroes on jobs has become better as the situations are reported to inter-racial committees. 2-19-44

The Negro leaders of the South do not demand revolution in social customs or traditions toward handling race problems. They only seek a fair deal from an economical, industrial and educational standpoint. They want the right to work for equal wages just as other citizens. They want equal opportunities for education and equal protection under the law. Many more white people of the South agree with this point and many movements are afoot to bring about a better understanding between the races.

Negro leaders realize that all permanent benefits that come to the race will come through evolution and not revolution. I've heard a number of Negroes ask "What are American Negroes fighting for?"

We are fighting by the side of other nations in order to keep the principles of Democracy in action. It is this principle that this principle has been responsible for the Negro's freedom and phenomenal progress during the last 80 years. These principals will carry us to greater heights in the civilized world.

If the very principles of Democracy are destroyed the Negro's prdgress is doomed. There is no other land where Negroes, representing such a small minority group can argue their cause at the bar of public opinion, in the courts, through the press and even in the halls of Congress. This is worth fighting for. Negroes must not throw away this opportunity by making more enmies with that group of people who are able to help them regardless of the section of the country where they live. 2-19-44

P. S.—This expression is from The Negro Labor News.

Primary Attorney, W. J. Durham, Tells San Antonio Group to Pick Leader Who Can Get Things Done

Register-San Antonio, Texas

TUESDAY night, at Library auditorium, members of Texas' most effective Negro political organization, and one that has been active for 24 years in local campaigning, heard representatives of the Texas Progressive Voters' league plead for unity of action and purpose, on the eve of the organization of a San Antonio branch of the voters' league. May 24, 1944

San Antonio holds a unique place in Texas politics in having a Negro political organization that has been active in every city campaign for over a quarter of a century, and which, in that time, has been on the losing side only twice—in the 1921 Bell-Black mayoralty race, and in 1939 when Maury Maverick was elected mayor, but was crushed in his bid for reelection in 1941.

The organization, originally formed by the legendary Charles Bellinger, is now headed by his son, Valmo C. Bellinger. Time and again it has been the Negro organization that decided elections.

Attorney W. J. Durham, of Sherman and Dallas, Tex., chairman of the political action committee of the Texas Progressive Voters' league, and attorney in the "white primary" case, recently successfully concluded before the United States Supreme court, giving the Negro the right to vote in Texas Democratic primaries, was the principal speaker of the evening. May 26, 1944

Durham stressed the all-important urgency of Negroes fighting under one political banner. He stressed the point that the man who could do the best job—even if he were a ditch digger—should be the man selected as leader. He admonished that Texas Negroes should not divide on any issues, and declared that he did not believe that the Negroes of Texas had so little sense that they would split.

Durham declared that the participation of intelligent, educated Negro ministers in politics was very desirable, and that political-minded Negro women "got things done."

He pointed out that Negroes had two types of "leaders"—those who appoint themselves, and are subsequently kept so busy keeping themselves as "leaders" that they don't have time for anything else or to do anything for anybody else, and those who actually get the job done.

The latter—those who do things—should be the choice for leadership, Durham urged.

Durham declared that the sole objective of the voters' league was to attain full citizenship for the Negro without restrictions or reservations.

Alphonse Mills, chairman of selective service board in Houston, and a member of the political action committee, also spoke, and also stressed that the man chosen leader should be one who could get the job done.

Rev. J. Henry Hardeman, pastor of Corinth, spoke briefly of the power and influence wielded by the clergy, and of the minister's part in civic affairs.

O. E. Fitzgerald, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also spoke briefly.

Rev. James Jordan gave the benediction. C. N. Walker, of Houston, of the Atlanta Life Insurance company, and a member of the league, and Dr. C. A. Whittier were platform guests.

Valmo Bellinger, a member of the political action committee of the voters' league, who called the meeting, acted as master-of-ceremonies.

CONTENDS SOUTHERN NEGRO LIKE NORTHERN BROTHER IN HIS WANTS

Globe and Independent, Nashville, Tenn. 2-11-44

Chicago, Ill.—Dean Gordon B. Hancock, prominent Virginia educator, contends that Southern Negro leaders are doing their share of fighting for justic for their race, and that there is no difference between what Southern Negroes ... believe they are full-fledged citizens and what is being contended for by Northern Negroes. His views are expressed forcefully in the following release to the Associated Negro Press:

The story goes that a train was making up for a trip

Pointed Points

By S. W. Garlington

Amsterdam News-New York, N.Y.

IF THERE IS NO STRUGGLE, there is no progress!" These are the immortal words of the greatest leader the Negro race has produced—the uncompromising Frederick Douglass who first saw the light in February 1817 and died during the same month in 1895. The exact day in the month that this famous abolitionist, liberator and statesman was born is not known. But, because of his importance to Negro History his birth is usually celebrated during this week —**Negro History Week** (13-20). This is both fitting and proper inasmuch as there was practically no liberal movement during his day that he did not champion. Probably this was due to the fact that he believed that **"One and God make a majority."** 2-19-44

Mr. Garlington

"As long as there is injustice and inequality," declares Archivist H. T. Pinkett, "the spirit of Douglass will continue to haunt the conscience of America."

* * *

FEBRUARY BIRTHDAYS: In addition to Douglass, three other leaders were born in February—namely: "The father of our country" GEORGE "Never told a lie" (Oh, Yeah!) WASHINGTON; ABRAHAM "Civil War Famed" LINCOLN, and WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT "Amsterdam News Columnist" DUBOIS. . . . By the way, to escape the proverbial "dog-house," I will "stick in" these two blessed events that appeared in this shortest month: The heir to my throne (if I had one) SWG, Jr., my son, (2-26-40), and Elsie, my mother—Date? You know, women don't tell their ages. . . . Pardon! the Garlingtonian "plug". Now, let's get back to the subject. . . . So much has been said about the first three of the "February Big Four" that it is difficult to add anything new. But the fourth, Dr. DuBois, could stand a bit of clarification so far as Johnny Q. Public is concerned.

DUBOIS was not only a brilliant historian, editor, publicist and sociologist for nearly half a century which won him a commanding place in American education, thought and literature, but he had the "guts" to challenge the conservative BOOKER T. "Let's Start 'Uncle Tom' Leadership!' WASHINGTON. This last act was a great service to the Negro's cause.

It is true that many have disagreed with DuBois' racial philosophy, but—despite this difference of opinion—his intellectual leadership in the race remains undisputed.

* * *

A NEGRO MANIFESTO has been adopted by various church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational leaders throughout the country. It calls for full citizenship status and stresses the following points.

1.—Vigorous prosecution of the war and a progressive domestic program of social gains.

2.—The right of the Negro to vote in every state. 2-19-44

3.—Legislation to abolish lynching and mob violence and the poll tax.

4.—Support of the FEPC (and its drive to become permanent) and other legislation to enable minority groups to work without discrimination.

5.—Abolition of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

Let's Back This Manifesto! It's a blueprint of **What the Negro Wants.** But, it will not be accomplished by wishing. We will have to get busy and prove ourselves worthy of our demands. Despite the "gems" in our history, the white man is not convinced —yet. It's not going to be an easy job to do so either. Because we are Negroes, the task will be twice as difficult. So what? We must pay the price, or be contented with our present lot. But, before we take the easier road, let's recite the words of Douglass: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress!"

OUR CHILDREN will be the men and women of tomorrow. They will be expected to carry on where we leave off. In fact, many will grow up and join us in the fight for complete equality. But, it seems to me, that too many of us are allowing (and passively encouraging) our children to run amuck. If this is not checked, they will be (in fact, too many are NOW) a greater hindrance than help to the cause.

Let's teach or re-orientate them in **the value of respect** for laws, regulations, property, persons, religions, customs, and themselves—including cleanliness of mind and body at all times!

* * *

SO WHAT?

"You can and you can't,
You will and you won't;
You'll be damn'd if you do,
You'll be damn'd if you don't."

School Superintendent, Law Officers Cooperate in Reign of Terror

Register, San Antonio, Texas, June 2, 1944

NEW IBERIA, La.—Officers sworn to enforce the law, and education officials joined hands, here, last week to impose persecution methods on five prominent Negro leaders that rival the tactics employed by Hitler's Gestapo.

The Iberia sheriff's office cooperated with the parish superintendent of education in the brutal beating of at least four of the five, whose offense had been that they had acted on a committee which was successful in causing the establishment of a welding school for Negroes over the refusal of Lloyd G. Porter, superintendent of education.

All five men were escorted out of town by deputies of the sheriff's office who impersonated Federal Bureau of Investigation agents.

Severely beaten at the hands of deputies, armed with revolvers, were Dr. Ima G. Pearson, Dr. Luins H. Williams, L. Leo Hardy, and Herman Faulk, a parish school teacher. Dr. H. C. Scroggins barricaded himself in his home after being threatened with bodily harm, and later escaped to New Orleans.

The story of the welding school situation, according to information gathered, was that one Lawrence Viltz, a resident of New Iberia, suggested a welding school for Negroes about a year ago.

The suggestion, brought to the superintendent of education, was vehemently opposed by him; however, the matter was referred to the FEPC in Washington, D. C., which, in turn, ordered an investigation from the regional office in Dallas, Texas.

An investigator named Virgil Williams was sent to New Iberia and discussed the matter with leading Negro and white citizens in a meeting. Register, San Antonio, Tex

Superintendent of Education Porter still opposed the establishment of a defense welding school for Negroes vigorously. June 2, 1944

Despite his objections, the school was established, and was opened about four weeks ago.

On Monday, the persecution of those blamed by Porter as having opposed him, began.

Monday afternoon, Hardy was picked up and taken to the sheriff's office where he was confronted by Porter and Sheriff Gilbert Ozenne.

The sheriff said that Hardy had been writing to Porter and that they didn't like it, that they considered it an insult.

Hardy declared:

"I said I was sorry if Mr. Porter considered it an insult and apologized. Mr. Porter told me he did not want me to write any more letters to the FEPC and the War Manpower commission or any outsiders . . . When I answered 'yes sir,' he called me a yellow s— of a b—, 'You are saying 'yes sir' but deep down in your heart, you could cut my throat.'

"He said he had a good mind to get me then but he was getting old and had a good mind to send for his brother to kill me.

"He wound up telling the sheriff, I was the organizer of the Negroes to overthrow the whites and he had a good mind to order me out of town.

"The sheriff said, 'It's up to you, Mr. Porter.'

"Mr. Porter hesitated a moment then said, 'Make him leave town.

"The sheriff then gave me until 8 o'clock the next day to leave. I told him I had little money and that the bank would not be open before 9 a. m. He extended my stay until 10 a. m., Tuesday, May 16.

"Tuesday morning, I transacted all the business that I could and I went to the court house at 10 a. m., to talk to the sheriff and tell him that I could not finish my arrangements until later in the week. He was out of town . . . About 8:05 p. m., four deputies stopped a car about one block from my house and ordered me to get in; they took me to the sheriff's office and there were two more.

"The sheriff became enraged and began to use abusive language. He began slapping me on both sides of the face, then he used his fist very forcefully — then he kicked me two or three times. I can't count the times he pummeled me in the face, talked about killing me and my kind.

"After becoming tired from the exertion of beating and kicking me, he ordered me locked up until it became darker.

"They put me in one of the cells on the fourth floor of the Iberia parish jail and court house. I presume they kept me there 40 or 50 minutes; then the night jailer called me, ordered me in the elevator and brought me to the basement then up to the surface to an automobile . . . They drove me out a gravel road about one mile from New Iberia, stopped the car and the 225-pound deputy that was sitting with me, grabbed my necktie and hit me in the face three or four times . . . I was told to walk and walk fast . . . when I was about 15 yards away one of them shot his pistol. They followed me for more than a mile, and told me not to look back or ever come back to New Iberia . . . I walked about two more miles and called one of my friends in Lafayette, who came and carried me to Lafayette to spend the night.

Faulk is reported to have been most severely beaten and is said to be in Lake Charles recuperating.

Dr. Ima G. Pearson, a native of Texas, was picked up by the cruising car containing three deputies whom he said he could identify, while walking a few yards from his home.

After telling him they were Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, the deputies aimed revolvers at him, forced him into the automobile and beat him as they drove to the edge of town.

Dr. Luins H. Williams, formerly of New Orleans and a member of one of the leading families in the New Orleans uptown section, who had built up a thriving practice in New Iberia during recent years, was severely beaten with a loaded stick wielded by the deputies who also kidnapped him and forced him into the car, it was learned.

Letters To Editor

Daily World—Atlanta, Ga.

WANTS NEW KIND OF RACE LEADERSHIP

7-12-44

Editor, Atlanta Daily World:

I noticed in the Republican platform when it was released to the press that it contained a phrase that read "We believe in participation of Negroes in all federal elections." I wonder if the Republicans think that is what we are fighting for. We are now voting in all federal elections; we want to vote in all state primaries for our state and local officials. Since the Reublicans didn't know, I understand that they had a number of Negro advisors, why didn't they tell them. Tell them they are sleep to the issue and need to wake up by 1948 because their cause is lost now. Negroes know how the Republican party worked hand in hand with some southern Democrats to keep the Negro down and shame our great president, and Negroes are like elephants, they don't forget very soon. Negroes need to stop selling the race for a few dollars and begin to fight for our freedom from economic slavery. There are hundreds of them going all over the country trying to sell the Republican stale meat to their families to eat. This type of Negro has no place in the hearts of poor, struggling people who look to them for leadership. I hope you will tell Director Brown of the Negro Congress that he can speak for brown but not black. There are several more, especially our leading preachers who get their pay in advance for selling us and sit back and laugh when we make a fool of ourselves.

7-12-44

I pray that our people would wake up and do away with that group of leaders who use us for selfish and personal gain. Turn our backs on them and think for ourselves. We are in need of new competent leaders; men who hold their heads above the cloud; men who die to save his people. We need leaders, men who are willing, in the face of whatever may come, to stand up and take it. That leader is not in our pulpits where most of us go for guidance. He has not shown his face in our business world, or our schools, but he must

I stand four square for Negroes on Mr. Hoover again acting program is doing and that is good enough through Mr. Dewey. We anything for me. False issues are looked for have a job before us. I to put Negroes so by false leaders. I think as Negroes hope all will do his part. bout Negroes so by false leaders. I think as Negroes hope all will do his part. cerned. I know we know what Mr. Roosevelt will J. M. Atkinson it has done and do and should not take a chance Brunswick, Ga.

They don't have to put humanitarian the platform about try to impress true facts on them. far as I am concerned. and what Mr. Roosevelt has

I am for President Roosevelt and what Mr. Roosevelt has

44-1944

Plain Talk

By DAN GARDNER

Daily World – Atlanta, Ga.

Major Stumbling Block

7-9-44

The person who can write or declare in one sentence, not over twelve words, what the Negro actually wants, should be given the best seat in the Hall of Fame. His name should be spoken in awe or in hushed whispers. He should be reverenced throughout the ages. An international holiday of not less than two weeks should be observed in his honor.

Over the years there have been many great gatherings of Negro minds to examine, study and evaluate the problems of the race. There have been written miles upon miles of words on the subject by the best pen pushers we have produced. Yet, out of this welter of words and ponderous findings we have not seen thus far the ideal, simple summation of what the Negro wants done in plain, unadorned language, pithy, yet ringing with truth, stark and real, yet a symphony of practical idealism.

CLASH OF VIEWS 7-9-44

The reason this has yet to come into being is that there exists among our leadership a clash of viewpoints, a confusion of tongues babbling at the foot of Babel while the tower totters. There are some who believe a common objective does not exist and that certain things are for certain of us and cerrtain other things are for certain other of us. They contend that all Negroes are not alike and that which might be good for some would be bad for others. They are the exponents of division and the advancement of the certain few on the backs of the retarded many.

Then there are some among our leadership who believe in playing the ends against the middle, hoping that in such an atmosphere they can push across selfish ambitions and personal programs which benefit only the individual playing that kind of game. They pit ideology against ideology, color against color, class against class; they gamble with the lives and well-being of generations yet unborn for the price of a new and guady automobile, a six-room luxury apartment, a trip to the seashore for the summer and the praise of the white man for a job well done on his own behalf.

SOME PERSONALLY SPOTLESS

And there are those among our leaders who sincerely wish to do something, but who are continually lost in a labyrinth of bewilderment. They bring to their self-assumed task spotless personal records, but little of the sane, stable qualities that frequently produce ascetic leaders in the heroic mould of a Gandhi, a Tito, a Stalin or an Eboue. They are actually followers, not leaders, because they lack the spark of true leadership and are minus the vision to conceive the iron determination to carry through. 7-9-44

The programs of our leading organizations engaged in the fight for racial progress are full of inconsistencies, contradictions; they are wordy and repetitious, and when boiled down, say litt.e At present in this grave hour of world-wide turmoil and strife when the tides of fortune are shifting momentarily; when the status of whole races is being weighed in the balance, and while history is being rewritten each second, our goal is still obscure beyond a horizon clouded with ambiguities, buried beneath a collossus of misconceptious and conflicting beliefs. These are reasons why the singularlity of purpose, the clarity of vision, and the depth and brevity of .simple, yet sound, conviction have not as yet been employed in creating the long awaited one sentence demand of America's 20 million black people, and the untold millions of our blood brothers scattered over the globe.

FULL OF EVASIONS 7-9-44

Examine any program at random of some of our prominent race rights outfits. Such statements as "wider participation," "more recognition," "fuller integration,' and "greater opportunity" stud the whole thing. Few statements are positive. They are evasive of expressing the actual desire. An implied fear of offending those upon whom the demands are made is seen at a glance. We have held many solemn conferences, conventions, national meetings. Out of them have come "nine point" and "ten point" and "fourteen point programs.

None has yet appeared where the actual wants of the race are mirrored in a short terse statement that is unmistakably clear. Moses, as the first leader of the Jews, gave that race its most powerful platform that has come down untarnished through the ages: "Let My People Go." The Jew has built a worldwide propaganda machine on that classic statement. It is the rallying call to Jews everywhere for struggle against the modern Pharoahs, whether they be Hitlerites or Arabs, Italian or Rumanian. 7-9-44

ADAM POWELL SCORES

Such a demand, short and terse as it is, could very well be the spiritual rallying cry of Negro people everywhere were it not for the divisions that exist among us because of adverse concepts and teachings by those who presume to lead.

The Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr., of New York, recognized that potency and magic of a briefly stated desire at one of his many rallies and said, "Let My People Go Now!" Our trouble is that we don't want to go anywhere, whether to complete freedom or to a conscious conception of our place in modern society. This is because we have become tired, weary of long drawn out statement that show the result of befuddled thinking. We might react differently, however, when our purposes are stated anew and in the same mould as was Moses'

Leadership

Consistency Versus Inconsistency

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Kansas

One of the most common statements heard in our group is "The Negroes ought to get together." This statement is made by people in our own race and people of the other group. We sometimes wonder just what is meant when this statement is made. When we observe other groups we find that they are subject to certain physical and social forces that motivate their actions one way or the other. We also have observed that the Negro is subject to the same physical and social forces. We also observed that all of us are effected by political and economic forces. We believe that the Negro people are together on this program, the advancement of their race in America. However, there may be individuals in other groups who are inconsistent when it comes to certain principles and ideals. We also believe, based on experience, that other groups have their differences and are divided on issues just like the Negroes are. But it seems as if the Negro is criticized for his actions more than any other group. 3-10-44

The Negro could not have accomplished as much in a country that has been so bitter toward him if our program had been one of inconsistency. Of course we know that there has been in the past as well as today, individuals who adopted their program to the tune of the dollar. That is to say that their program has been one of inconsistency as well as of consistency—consistent when the dollars played a merry tune and inconsistent when the tune ceased. Such individuals in our group are in the minority just as they are in other groups, and usually fall by the wayside. We have leaders of our race who speak with crooked tongues to the masses and count the money with ease at the selling-off time. They have been in our group even since the days of slavery and, no doubt, will be in our midst until the end of time. They are in other race groups just as they are in our group.

The Negro has a definite program today as a minority group based on principle and issues. And we believe that the Negro is more determined to carry out that program in spite of the devil and high water. Men who speak with crooked tongues and dance to the tune of the American dollar cannot forever stay in the forefront. The masses are enlightened and will move them out of the way. So when we hear the statement that Negroes ought to get together we see earmarks of a theatrical stunt intended to break down the morale, courage, integrity and perseverence of a minority group struggling for their rights as citizens to share in all of the fruits of Democracy.

Leaders Pledge Support To National Bond Clubs Plan

Houston, Texas 3-11-44

To carry out the plan, a nation-al organization committee has been set up. The officers are Dr. Walker, chairman; Albon L. Holsey, National Negro Business League, executive secretary; J. B. Blayton, National Negro Business League, treasurer; and Claude Barnett, publicity director. The following are vice-chairmen:

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —War bond savings clubs, comprised of groups of ten or more persons who would agree to purchase at least one bond a month, were heartily endorsed by leaders of a score of national organizations meeting here last week at the invitation of the War Finance Division of the Treasury Department. The meeting was called jointly by Willard W. Allen, chief of the Interracial Section of the War Finance Division, and by Dr. J. E. Walker president of the National Negro Business League.

James Pittsburgh Courier; Bishop A. Bray, Fraternal Council of Negro churches in America; 3-11-44 T. M. Campbell, Agricultural Extension Service; John W. Dobbs, International Conference of Grand Masters; Lester B. Granger, National Urban League; Jesse Mitchell, National Negro Bankers Association; Mrs. Northcutt, Jeanes Teacher; Mrs. Fannie B. Peck National Negro Housewives League; Miss Shellie Norton, Jesse O. Thomas, and J. Finley Wilson.

TWO FIGHTERS

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Fellow Citizens Remember Sam Langford, But Forget the Militant Dr. DuBois

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

LIFE is such a cruel jester. There are so many ironic twists to fate. Ingratitude is one of the deepest dyed of human frailties. The strange and peculiar appraisal that men put on human virtues and achievements tends to prove that we mortals are but fools and clowns. We play the game of life like imbeciles. Let us take under advisement, the cruel turns that are taking place in the lives of San Langford, the Boston Tar Baby, former fistic superlative, now blind and penniless, and William E. B. DuBois, scholar, author and former champion of higher things for lowly people, now in the yellow leaf of life, about to lose his position and facing necessitudinous circumstances.

Mr. Bibb
3-11-44

Langford fought efficiently with his fists. DuBois contended heroically with his brains. Langford conquered with brute force. DuBois knocked out the foes of progress with the piercing shafts and darts of his superb mentality. Benefits and gratuities will soon come the way of the exponent of brute force. His coffers will be replenished and his past gladiatorial glories will be revamped by printed word and stentorian speech. Langford will not be permitted to grope and stumble along through his dreary, remaining years without aid and succor. New Yorkers and leading editors of sports are scribbling lines about building some kind of "spend-thrift trust" for Sam. But little or nothing is being done to cushion the hard and cruel years that lay ominously before the still brilliant and capable DuBois. In the strage saga of these two men, a beautiful cross-section of the peculiar workings of social beings is disclosed.

COMPARISON PROVES BOTH WORTHY 3-11-44

Dr. DuBois is about to be retired from Atlanta university, where he has held a professorship since receiving the unerring boot from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is about to be relieved of his duties as editor of Phylon, perhaps be denied a pension and in his reclining years, be left to the tender mercies of a cold, stern world. In this saga, there is melodrama and poignant tragedy. The Boston Tar Baby is to be remembered, while DuBois is about to be forgotten.

LOOKING back with imaginative eyes, upon the hundreds of opponents of Sam, stretched along side by side as the referee holds high the tawny hand of the victor, recall, if you will, some of his victims: Joe Jeannette, Harry Wills, Sam McVey, John Lester Johnson, Gunboat Smith, Joe Choynski, Joe Wolcott, and then look askance at the library shelf and gaze upon the works of DuBois. Behold the "Suppression of Slave Trade," "Philadelphia Negro," "The Souls of Black Folk," "John Brown," "The Quest of the Silver Fleece," "Dark Princess," "The Gift of Dark Folk," "African Roots of the War," pamphlets, tracts, dissertations, sociological studies and editorials.

WILL SURVIVE TIME

In reviewing the conquests of Langford, you will note that he carried a lethal punch, while perusing the writings of DuBois, you will perceive his mastery of the English language, his inimitable prose poetry, his revelation of obscure facts, his martialing of ideas, while the sheer beauty of his expression will leave you aghast. Both were brilliant contenders, but did we not learn in our early days, of the "superiority of mind over matter"?

WHEN Langford's exploits will be hazy to memory and can only be recalled by consulting dusty and yellowed sport files, the works of DuBois will still be fresh and green in the minds of all students of human relations. DuBois will live on aeons and aeons after Langford has returned to common dust. DuBois battled to secure training for the minds of dark people. He halted and check-mated those who would ordain a servile role forever. True enough, the distinguished graduate of Fisk, Harvard and Berlin weakened and strayed from his proscribed path, at times, but in the composite, Dr. DuBois hangs high in the galaxy of colored fighters. He, too, should be remembered.

SHOULD BE ENDOWED 3-11-44

Students and graduates of Atlanta university and Harvard, members and officers of the National Advancement Association, should concern themselves with the continued welfare of William E. B. DuBois, now in his 76th year and in dire circumstances. DuBois wants no benefits or charity, but he does desire and richly deserves the opportunity to continue his sociological pursuits, writings and editing. Dr. DuBois should be endowed and relieved of all financial worries. The equities in his case overwhelmingly outweigh those in the instance of the Boston Tar Baby.

New Times

Mr. Randolph and The Need for Unity

by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

IF MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH would identify himself unconditionally with the progressive, majority currents among the Negro people, labor and the nation, he would be on the way to realize the full citizenship of the Negro of which he speaks. For speaking alone will not do the job; it is no substitute for correct policy. Consequently, Mr. Randolph seems headed up a blind alley, which is bad enough for him but a thousand times worse for those who follow him.

7-23-44

He is in a position to do great good. He is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union in which the Negro people and millions of white advanced workers take pride—a pride which they have shown from the very beginning when their support helped to build the union and helped to create the conditions under which it and all other unions could survive and grow. Mr. Randolph gets a very favorable press—even though the newspapers have their own factional, partisan reasons for playing him up. His trade union leadership gives him a potent position among the Negro people and in progressive circles, and shows the pro-labor sentiment among Negroes. This favorable status places upon him a heavy responsibility to be right.

Yet one finds his pronouncements hovering between defeatism and confusion which tend to negate that which he does or says which is right. One cannot use sincerity as a yardstick with him, because it is impossible to select from among many contradictory acts that which he is sincere about. On the one hand, he calls for unity, on the other, he indulges in shocking red-baiting. Everything to save the FEPC, he says, but on the other hand, he more often finds himself in the camp with those who are trying to undermine the President who established and maintained the FEPC against the Republican-poll tax Democratic coalition. He speaks eloquently about Negro rights, but when this writer, along with many others, ask for his assistance in numerous matters in the City Council to end Jimcrow, one is drowned with silence from Mr. Randolph's direction.

HOWEVER, his refusal to serve as a Dewey stooge to run on the Republican congressional ticket in Harlem which could only mean dividing the Negro vote, was a distinct service to the community. Likewise, his refusal to run as vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket with Norman Thomas was also commendable. But the reasons for his refusal in both instances are far from acceptable since they helped the reactionary forces which he damaged by refusing to run.

It is utterly shocking that Mr. Randolph would permit his name to be associated with that of Norman Thomas or of the Socialist Call, since both are but "left-wing" mouthpieces for fifth column propaganda. The Call, the Chicago Tribune and all such treasonable publications ought to be banned from the mail. If the American people would believe Norman Thomas, Hitler would long ago have split up the United Nations, defeated them and conquered all Americans, black and white alike. 7-23-44

APPARENTLY the trouble is that Mr. Randolph place something else above the winning of the war and the winning of the people, and also above the struggle for the full citizenship. And once something else is placed above victory, confusion and disunity follow. Red-baiting is as disastrous to victory over reaction and "white supremacy" at home, as it is to victory over Hitlerism abroad. One cannot fight for the unity of the people for equality or victory, with Norman Thomas as a political bedfellow. One cannot fight the enemy and agree with him at the same time.

If we are to destroy Hitlerism in Berlin and Tokio, and if we are to defeat Hooverism and Rankinism in America, we must have unity of the people—of the Negroes within themselves and of Negro and white. No partisan or special interests must be allowed to endanger or prevent that unity. The decision is up to Mr. Randolph. No one has the right to make it for him—but history has a way of making everyone responsible for the consequences of his own words and deeds.

Negro Leadership.

World Telegram N.Y., N.Y. 8-10-44

During the dangerous days of Philadelphia's transportation strike, when racial antagonisms threatened to fan sporadic hoodlumism into widespread rioting, there occurred a demonstration of sound Negro leadership from which the whole nation should learn a lesson.

If there was one human agency more than another to which the credit should go for keeping passions in check and maintaining peace under highly inflammatory conditions, it was the group of civic-minded Negroes who prepared in advance for trouble, and who kept disorder to a gratifying minimum through their counsel and inspiration.

The counsel these leaders gave to their people was pure Americanism—tolerance, self-restraint, self-respect, and the Golden Rule. 8-10-44

"Keep your heads and your tempers," they advised. "Treat other people as you would be treated. . . . Your neighbors are not your enemies." The message was spread by placards and handbills, by newspapers and by word of mouth, through churches, group meetings and mass gatherings.

The record shows how successfully these leaders carried out their mission. And it gives us a valuable basis for study in methods by which, in the future, we may better control intolerance and eliminate racial friction.

Communities which fear racial clashes would do well to get white and Negro leaders together now—not after such a clash has occurred—to plan "psychological warfare" against the tensions that threaten to disturb the peace.